846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwas "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little
553 party" (wiči lonu'iwas) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa'tsas hu'ṭoñ). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Yachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Yachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

● 551 The Yachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'ŏau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 48d] Koyeti

KOYETI

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One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

756

Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci čːn, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

[551]

Huhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camsu´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christmas, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kum or do conventional dance steps.

1: Gayton E-S (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

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[125]This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

[i.e. Frank Manuel. - Analyst]

T Y 796 276 [P. 53 b] Tubatulabal NS22

saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Y 752 276 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T Y 756 P.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. P.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nak ma ana´telhːn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´ːt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

T Y [55]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 549] Tubatulabal P522

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mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

756 [551]

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɨn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɨn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɨts. She "thought about power [tɨpni] day and night until she dreamt." She married Ceče'ɨs, who was Watí'sti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wu'ni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɨn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

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[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about mentionation encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 1039] Wukchumni

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The [757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no·mč·n, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po·ñoi nomč·n, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not [551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi·'ti lonu·wa·s) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805 177]

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the in-
584 stigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother
[579] who, having two wives, sought a third. The unfortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[544]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[545] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[544] Merriam, The Mi'-tin'-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [545] A Wobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawi'dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 [361] The chief (ti´ya) fuhctioned as among the Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house given a special location. He "was the richest man, every one had to pay him at a mourning ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

622 Feasts or parties, like those given by chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

622 The position of chief passed from brother to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

[55] At Aholu´i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After him came Huhutu´tu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[56] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29 .
[P. 167 b] Kechayi

584 (ma'ksi) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yewːnu'ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi'wːša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

582 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime consideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had [835] intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo'wːt (husband), yi'wːn (wife or any woman one slept with), yawe'nːš (to have intercourse), yewːnuša (marriage party or ceremony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his [551] wife as ga'lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law, with the sexes reversed, of course. 607 A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was [831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 193 a] Chuckchansi

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

553 Children were named [by whom?] at about the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

551 A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
177 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

846 Mother's cleansing ceremony.---About one month after the birth of the first child (but
852 not after subsequent births) a celebration was
783 held for the mother by both parental families, said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled
783 by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives, and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was
852 still within the shelter, picked her up and set
783 her on her feet. A large washing basket ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29
[P. 194 b] Chuckchansi

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about [177] 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separation. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., [55] 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, [602] the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [593] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether [861] they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

W Y 846 meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

W Y 553 852 [551] The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time, and often for a month or two after, it was called a ʻktač (S.O.); called weʻčːp if a boy, and wiʻtːp if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S:O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duniʻša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Pailaʻla, who lived at Sohonto (Koʻonikwe) was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

W Y 846 783 The mother's cleansing ritual (eplaʻho[1] unuʻmaloⁿ, washing daughter-in-law) took place the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[272] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

[272] The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, so it were.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
W EP. 237 b. Western Mono NS25
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there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

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Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe.". Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

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The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

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Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point T.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska.

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives.

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre.

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

487 439 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne*, quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah*, one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his [361] tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his 487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun* 439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one 624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. 372 Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He [481] put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head. [55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi*, Roadrunner, because in 773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE NAMING OF INDIANS

551 The giving of names among the Indians was often a most interesting practice. Among some tribes it was customary, after the child was born, to give it the name of the first object seen from the doorway of the house. In some instances we are told that the name was predetermined by presenting a desirable object in front of the door, so that it would be certain to be the first object seen. This name was intended to be temporary, and was later discarded.

Some children grew to be three or more years of age before they were given a permanent name. When the child was old enough to exhibit some characteristic, or perform some deed, it was remaned.

I knew two *Wukchumne* brothers who, when small, were named the Indian equivalents of Sunny Place and Dirty Face. The first was so named because he would leave the other children, who were playing in the shade, and go to a sunny place where he would play by himself. The derivation of the other name is obvious.

553 Renaming was in some instances done several times. An Indian was likely to be renamed whenever he performd some act which took the fancy of his associates. It was more often done when the child was taken into the tribe, at which time a more or less permanent name was given him.

To my knowledge, only two Yokuts families have preserved Indian surnames, the Ichows and the Pohuts. Pohut is Yokuts for squirrel. Ichow is a name given by Sierra tribes to turtle. *Tawpnaw* attempted to preserve his name, but it was changed to Tupino by white associates.

551 775 The dead were very much respected by the Indians. They believed in a surviving spirit and were very careful after death to avoid provoking or disturbing that spirit. As a result of this, until after the *Lonewis*, care was taken that the name of the deceased was not spoken. It was feared that the spirit would be awakened. Probably in most cases it was feared that the spirit would answer to the name. The Indian did not want spirits prowling about any more than we do. In some tribes it was customary after death to change the name of the deceased. In this way any chance of disturbing the spirit was avoided.

This is not an extinct taboo. While completing this manuscript I learned that I had neglected to obtain the Indian name of Doctor Bob, an aged *Chukaimina*, who died in Squaw Valley

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y 551 775

many years ago. It developed that only one person knew his Indian name. This person was *Wahnomkot,* an aged Wukchumne. But she could not tell me the name, or tell it to anyone for me. Her half-brother had been given the same name. He had recently died and she could not speak the name until a decent period of time had passed. So, in this volume, Doctor Bob's Indian name cannot be used.

W 551

Among the Indian names of the Sierra an interesting example was that of the *Halawanshe* (Hah-lah-wahn'-she) family. They belonged to the *Pahdwishi* tribe and lived on the Kaweah River in the vicinity of Hospital Rock. With the passing of Grandmother Halawanshe several years ago that family passed out of existence, the younger generation having taken a name from the white men.

Y 551 [221]

In the days of the primitive red man, before the coming of the Spanish, the tribes migrated, as the season of the year brought game or fish to the various rancheria sites in their territory. In accordance with this custom the Indians moved every fall from the rancheria at Hospital Rock.

Y 224 551

Upon one occasion, when returning to Hospital Rock, an old bear and two very young cubs were found occupying the cavern under that great boulder. The Indians tried for some time to dislodge mother bruin, but she had apparently decided to locate there permanently, and refused to move. After some discussion it was decided to imitate their brother of the fields, the coyote. Many American settlers have seen coyotes stealing pigs and know the system they used.

In stealing the cubs, what was called an "Indian fence" was built. The Indians formed a wide semicircle in front of the shelter and each held a long pole in front of him with the butt resting on the ground.

Other Indians stood behind the fence with their spears and bows and arrows ready, while two Indians approached the mother bear from different directions. As she gave chase to one of the Indians he retreated and was allowed to slip through the fence. Then the Indians behind the fence shot arrows at the bear and jabbed her with spears, while those in front raised their poles and threw her backward into the circle.

Upon the occasion of the removal of the mother bear and cubs from beneath Hospital Rock, two brothers, whose names were *Tripne,* (supernatural) entered the circle from opposite directions. The first Indian retreated and was closely

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 551 followed to the fence by the mother bear. He made his escape with difficulty.

The second Tripne brother handed one of the cubs through the fence. Then he made a mistake. He should have waited until his teammate repeated his part of decoying Mrs. Bruin from the rock. But he thought there was enough time to return for the second cub, and, contrary to the coaching of the Indians forming the fence, rushed back to the cavern.

Mrs. Bear turned and saw Tripne starting toward the cave. Mustering all of the amazing speed with which a great, heavy bear can move, she charged him. The Indians were all speechless and helpless to interfere. It seemed impossible that Tripne could escape with his life.

Just as Tripne came opposite the opening of the cave, unaware of the charging bear, out of the hush of expectation which had fallen over the group, someone yelled at the top of his voice, "Ha-la-wan'-she!" (get out quick).

Tripne hesitated the fraction of a second in front of the cave. Without looking, he decided not to go in, and quickly leaped forward through the fence. Mother Bruin was within three feet of him and clawed his head as he passed through the [165] pole fence, almost entirely removing his scalp. He later died from the effects of the wounds received.

With the relaxation which occurred immediately after the escape, all of the Indians fell to laughing and ever after called the two Indian families Halawanshe.

WUKCHUMNE PLACE AND ANIMAL NAMES

192 Those who have studied the Yokuts never cease to marvel at the extent of their vocabulary. They had a name for every object about them. In abstract matters they were able to express themselves almost as fully as can people with a written language. Although Yokuts grammar was less complicated than that of English, the vocabulary of an intelligent Yokuts contains several thousand words. In this sketch are presented the names of the common animals of the valley, as well as various landmarks and other items of interest. The names were obtained from the *Wukchumne* tribe of Yokuts.

197 The Wukchumne dialect was almost identical with the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Wa-chik'-it,* and *Yaud-dahn'-che.* As explained in the foregoing account, these dialects almost never involved the sound of "l". So, for the surrounding dialects,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[55] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All
[262] of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[55] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Wakachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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*197 does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however, the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total 197 vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in *197 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree 193 is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead. This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more fre- 551 quently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and 768 cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of 193 the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly un- 192 changed from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t-i, varied occasionally to t-e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt-im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'ănu or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

9; Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

The principal facts concerning social organization among the tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker.

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses.

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetci.

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name.

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver.

171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 603 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
NS29 Yokuts NS29

only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.

Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.

Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.

Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.

Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.

Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.

Djemshak.

Tukchuchu.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahasch, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omoon.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 975 769 [102] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, [768] or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

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